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AN APPEAL FOR THE UNION.

LETTER FROM THE HON. ROBERT J. WALKER.

NEW YORK, Tuesday, Sept. 30, 1856.

Hon. Charles Shaler and others, Democratic Committee, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

GENTLEMEN:—In consequence of my absence, I did not receive your letter, inviting me to address the Democratic Mass Convention, in your city, until it was too late, and therefore could not comply with your request. I thank you, gentlemen, for your remembrance of me, as a native son of Pennsylvania, and former resident of your city. I thank you still more for your kindly recollection of my father, also a native of Pennsylvania, and your favorable allusion to his services, as one of the heroic volunteer soldiers of liberty, in the war of the Revolution, and, at a much later period, as judge of the District Court of the United States, at your city.

You ask me, if I cannot attend your meeting in person, to communicate for publication, my views on the pending Presidential election.

We are approaching the close of a momentous struggle. On the one side is arrayed the Democratic party. It exists in every State, and over its united columns floats the flag of the Constitution and of the Union. On the other side is found a sectional and geographical party, composed exclusively of the States of the North. The Father of his country clearly foresaw the danger of such a party, and warned us against its fatal tendency, in his affectionate Farewell Address. But his solemn appeals and prophetic forebodings are swept from our memory, amid the wild uproar of geographical strife and sectional prejudice. The immortal Jackson, in his valedictory, warned us against similar perils, while the eloquent appeals and parting admonitions of Clay and Webster, implore us to avoid the disasters of such a conflict. These departed patriots all regarded geogra-

phical parties as sealing the fate of the Republic; but we seem to think there is no such danger, and that, unlike all its predecessors, our Government is immortal and indestructible.

For the first time in our history, such a geographical party is now formed. It is composed exclusively of the States of the North, and is arrayed in violent hostility against the Southern section of the Confederacy. It draws a line, clear and distinct, between the North and the South, and wars upon the people and institutions of the latter. It declares the institutions of the South so degraded and infamous, that Congress must exclude them from all that vast territory acquired by common blood and treasure, and which is the joint inheritance of all the States of the Union. Louisiana (including Kansas and Nebraska) was acquired by Jefferson and saved by Jackson. But the South are no longer held worthy to inherit any portion of that territory, acquired by the illustrious patriot of Virginia, and saved by the immortal hero of Tennessee.

So, too, with all the vast region acquired in the war with Mexico. Two gallant sons of Virginia, Scott and Taylor, were the leaders of those brilliant campaigns. The blood of the South was poured out in copious libations, and mingled freely with the blood of the North, upon the many and well fought fields of Mexico. Beside the gallant sons of the North, a heroic regiment of South Carolina was swept by the deadly fire of the Mexican forces. Leader after leader, column after column of that regiment fell mortally wounded, yet the survivors never wavered, and their arms were crowned with victory. Yet no son of Carolina, or of all the South, is held worthy to possess any, the smallest portion of all that territory acquired from Mexico. From the whole coast of the Pacific the South is already excluded, and now the platform of the Sectional party of the North is this: The universal Wilmot Proviso—no slave Territory, and no more slave States north or south of the line of the Missouri Compromise.

There shall be no division of the common territory, but the North must have the whole. There are fifteen Southern and sixteen Northern States, seven organized Territories, and a vast region yet to be organized. The North must have all these, and all our future acquisitions. No matter what may be the voice or vote of the people of the Territory, or when becoming a State. You shall have no voice or vote in the matter, but the North, commanding a Northern majority in the Electoral College, and in Congress, must have the whole.

But it is said the North has the majority, and the South must submit. Has then the South no rights, or does she hold them merely at the mercy of a Northern majority? Has the South no claims on the justice of the

North, and is it not unjust to exclude the South from all the common territory of the Union?

But this is not a mere question of justice, but of constitutional power. The Constitution was framed and ratified by the States, each voting and acting for itself alone. Thus we became "*United States;*" a Confederacy, not a central Republic. A Confederacy receiving all its power from the States, through an instrument called by them the Constitution, granting therein only certain specified powers, and reserving all others. It is clear, then, that Congress can exercise such powers only as are granted by the Constitution, and that all their laws not based upon the delegated powers, are founded on usurpation, and are absolute nullities. Now the Constitution delegates no power to establish or abolish slavery in States or Territories. Such is the opinion of the South, and of a large minority (if not a majority) of the North. But, it is said, the North claims that such power in the Territories is granted to Congress by the Constitution. The South denies the existence of any such power. How is the question to be decided? Most clearly, not by the North, or the South, but, as a disputed question of constitutional law, by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Now, before the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the South proposed to carry that line to the Pacific, although it gave them but three degrees and a half on that ocean, leaving twelve degrees and a half to the North. That measure passed the Senate, but was voted down in the House by a Northern majority. Thus the North seized the whole coast on the Pacific, nearly equal to our entire front on the Atlantic. The South yielded, but uniformly thereafter, most justly regarded the Missouri Compromise as repudiated by the North, rejected by their votes, and denounced by their addresses. The South next proposed to submit the disputed question of the power of Congress over slavery in the Territories, to the adjudication of the Supreme Court of the United States. That measure, known as the Clayton Compromise, also passed the Senate, and was voted down in the House by a Northern majority. This most wise and patriotic measure, submitted this question to the supreme judicial tribunal created by the Constitution, clothed by it with full authority to expound that instrument, and to restrain Congress within the limits of the specific granted powers.

But this peaceful and final arbitrament of this question, proposed by the South, was rejected by the North. As a just and necessary consequence of the rejection of both these propositions by the North, the doctrine of non-intervention by the Federal Government was adopted by the conjoint vote of the North and South in both Houses of Congress, in 1850 and 1854, and constitutes the fundamental principle of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. While this measure saves the honor of the South, and expunges the provi-

sions violating the Constitution, practically, the North will derive great advantages from this measure. Of our seven organized Territories, in only one is there any effort to establish slavery by law, and in this one excepted case of Kansas, the question would long since have been peacefully decided, but for the unwarranted intermeddling and sectional interference of the propagandist nullifying Legislature of Massachusetts, and the consequences which followed.

If this question, as provided by the Kansas and Nebraska bill, should be left to the people of the Territory in forming their State Constitution, it will be determined by soil, climate, production, and the laws which govern the movements of population. Here, the North, aided by its greatly superior numbers, by European non-slaveholding emigrants, by the greater facility of movement, unincumbered by the transport of slaves, or the apprehension of their ultimate condition where taken, have great advantages over the South in the settlement of new territories, and should be perfectly satisfied with the principle, which leaves the determination of this question, when they become a State, to a majority of the people of the Territory. This is the Kansas-Nebraska bill. This is non-intervention—absolute non-interference by the Federal Government. This is the doctrine of the Constitution. This is that rule of absolute equality of rights of all the States, which lies at the foundation of the Confederacy. This is that constitutional right, recognized in the admission of new States, that they come into the Union "upon an equal footing with the other States, in all respects whatsoever." But that equality does not exist, if other States did accede or come into the Union, with or without slavery at their pleasure, and Kansas cannot do so.

There is another reason, not heretofore adverted to, which seems to render it impracticable long to maintain slavery in Kansas. In all the slave States, there is a large majority of voters who are non-slaveholders, but they are devoted to the institutions of the South—they would defend them with their lives—and on this question, the South are a united people. This class, composed of many small farmers, of merchants, professional men, mechanics, overseers, and other industrial classes, constitute mainly the patrol of the South, and cheerfully unite in carrying out those laws essential to preserve the institution. Against a powerful minority and constant agitation, slavery could not long exist in any State. It is a well known fact that this result would have followed soon, in several of the slave States, but for the unanimity speedily produced there by the Abolition agitators and intermeddlers of the North. Now Kansas is much divided on the question of slavery there; there is a powerful minority there, if not a majority. A party not neutral, but bitterly hostile to the institution; and for this, in

addition to the reasons before given, I do not believe Kansas will become a slave State. Nor is it important, if the North will adopt the principles of the Kansas bill—absolute non-intervention and non-interference anywhere by the Federal Government with the question of slavery. The North are in a constantly augmenting majority in Congress and the Electoral Colleges, and can carry out all proper measures, with an onward career of power and prosperity, if they will only adhere to the principles of justice and of the Constitution.

The so-called "Republican" party does not adopt the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, but distinctly repudiates that measure, and declares there shall be no slave Territory, and no more slave States any where or under any circumstances admitted into the Union, however clear or unanimous may be the will of the people of such State or Territory, or how far South the location. The very question, then, on which this party rests, is sectional, its candidates are sectional, and anticipating no electoral vote from the South, it looks for success exclusively to the North. Nay more; it asssumes the exclusive right of the North to decide this question, and rejecting all division of the common Territory by any line, it claims the whole for the North, discards the vote of the people of the Territory, either before or in becoming a State, and rejects also the arbitrament of the Supreme Court of the United States. It is conceded that, under the Constitution of the United States, slaves are property, and whether they may or may not be held as such in the Territories, is the great disputed question of Constitutional law. It involves rights of property, and as such is peculiarly a judicial question. But the Supreme Court of the Union is to be superseded by the popular suffrage of the North, and these rights of property are thus to be decided. Such a doctrine is not only sectional, aggressive and belligerent, but agrarian and revolutionary. It is an overthrow of the Constitution, of all its guarantees, and of every conservative principle on which it is founded. Such a government would not be a Constitutional Republic, but an *elective despotism.* But it is said the North are the majority, and such is their will. *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas.* But the votes and will of the French people made Napoleon the Great, first their Consul, and then their Emperor, and the votes and will of the French people made Napoleon III., first their President, and then clothed him with the imperial purple. Such was the will of the people; but with us, the Constitution is the supreme law, and so declared in that instrument, as framed and ratified by the people of each State. That Constitution, after withholding all but the specifically granted powers, distributes their exercise between the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial authorities.

It rendered paramount to Congress the decree of the Supreme Court of the United States. It gave to that Court the power to expound the law, and especially that supreme law, called the Constitution. But this Court is superseded by the refusal of the North to submit this question to its decision, and the substitution of the will of a Northern majority. If Constitutional guarantees and Judicial decisions are thus to be overthrown through the vote of the people by Congress, why not also in the States by the State Legislatures, and the doctrine established, that all rights of property in the Territories are held subject to the will of the people in the election of Congress; and all rights of property in the States, to the will of the people in the election of State Legislatures? If the Constitution is to be disregarded, judicial tribunals superseded, and questions involving rights of property decided at the ballot-box by the people in one case, why not in all others? The doctrine, if asked to be applied to one species of property in Kansas to-day, may be extended to all property every where to-morrow. It may be extended to lands, houses, rents, vessels, railroads, debts, stocks, and all other property, and may subject them all to division or confiscation by the decision of the people at the ballot-box. If it is right for the North, by the vote of the majority, to deprive the South, who are a minority, of all rights in the common territory of the Union, and to supersede judicial tribunals on disputed points of Constitutional law involving rights of property, will not the same principle apply to the State Legislatures in each of the States, and the tenure of all property be decided by the people at each successive election?

The truth is, the Black "Republican" party is revolutionary and agrarian; it involves principles which must strike down the tenure of all property, in every State as well as in every Territory of the Union. It discards the peaceful arbitrament of the Supreme Court of the United States, the great conservative feature of our institutions; it overthrows the Constitution and all its guarantees, and substitutes in their place an elective despotism, by which a majority of the people may abolish, divide, or confiscate all property at each successive election. It is said the majority of this tribunal are from the South, and therefore the North cannot trust them with the decision of this great constitutional question. It is but a majority of one, and that one the venerable Chief Justice, born and ever residing in the most conservative of all the States of the South, bordering upon the North, with but very few slaves, from which the institution of slavery is rapidly disappearing, with its great river, the Susquehanna, leading into the heart of Pennsylvania, and traversing large portions of the State of New York; a State, three-fourths of whose trade and intercourse, by bays and rivers, by railroads and canals, is with the free States of this Confederacy.

But if such a tribunal cannot be trusted, in executing the functions assigned to it by the Constitution, because it numbers from the South a majority of one, performing its high duties after full argument upon both sides, deep investigation and research, calm and deliberate, uninfluenced, so far as humanity can be, by passion or prejudice, enlightened and incorruptible, far surpassing any other judicial tribunal upon earth for its talents, wisdom, and legal knowledge; familiar with the Constitution, accustomed for many years to close examination of all its provisions, and to hear them constantly discussed, on both sides, by the great and distinguished jurists of our country,—if such a tribunal cannot be trusted, because it holds, accidentally, at this time, a majority of one from the South, can such a question be more wisely referred to the popular suffrage, where the North has a majority of fifty-four in the House of Representatives, and fifty-six in the Electoral College, and that majority constantly and rapidly augmenting? Will this controversy be more wisely decided by the people of the North, a single geographical section, inflamed by sectional passion and prejudice, impelled by newspaper editors, and husting orators, and political priests, with or without knowledge, with or without patriotism, with or without sincere religion, with or without fanaticism, with or without mature investigation, with or without selfish aspirations? Day by day, from the press, the hustings, the bookstore, the pulpit, the lecture-room, the schoolhouse, the theatre, the library, the author's closet, the painter's brush, and the power of song, the North now is, and long has been, trained and educated to hate the South, to despise their institutions, to trample upon their rights, to lacerate their feelings, to calumniate their character, to forget all their noble deeds in war and in peace, and all their generous qualities and high intellectual endowments, and to dwell only upon their faults, which are the lot of our common humanity.

Nor is this all. A direct appeal is constantly made to the local interests of the North, to the spirit of avarice and love of power and domination, which unfortunately exist, more or less, in every age and country; and the North are told that it is their interest to monopolize for ever, for themselves and their children, the whole of the common territory of the Union. Under these circumstances, is the popular suffrage of the North that calm, wise, enlightened, unprejudiced, disinterested tribunal, to which should be assigned the decision of the great question involved in this controversy? In a matter involving the rights, interests, and property of the South, the North is asked to be the sole judge in its own case, and to decide this matter in its own favor, by its own exclusive suffrage. No man respects popular suffrage more than myself, universal suffrage in this country, on all merely political questions, within the limits of the Constitu-

tion. But judicial questions, involving rights of property of incalculable value, our fathers, in founding the Government, for the welfare and safety of all, discarded the French idea of their elective despotism of 1852, or of their popular assemblage of 1789, unrestrained by conservative checks or constitutional guarantees, and deciding through the popular vote upon rights of property.

Division and confiscation, followed by sack, by plunder, and the guillotine, were there the inevitable consequence, and similar doctrines would soon produce here the same dreadful catastrophe. No man respects the press and the pulpit more than myself. In discharging their appropriate functions, they are the highest vocations upon earth, the one for time, the other for eternity. No one deems more useful than myself, addresses to the people from the hustings by able orators on political questions. But judicial questions, involving rights of property, requiring impartial investigation, should not be decided by popular suffrage, and especially when, as in this case, the suffrage of one section of the Union, incited by interest, passion, or prejudice, is asked to decide for itself, and in its own favor, by its own exclusive electoral vote, against another great section of the Confederacy.

But this so-called "Republican" platform is not only revolutionary and agrarian, but by forming a sectional and geographical party, arraying the North against the South, and assailing the bulwarks of the Constitution, it exposes the Union to imminent peril. It is the Constitution that makes the Union, and the subversion of the Constitution is the overthrow of the Union. It is revolution, because it changes in fact our form of government. The parchment upon which the Constitution is written may still remain, the empty forms may still be administered, but even these will soon follow, until not a fragment remains of the Government formed by the patriots and sages of the Revolution. If there are those who believe that the Union can long be preserved, when the Constitution shall have been subverted, and the supreme judical tribunal of the Union expunged or obliterated, their delusive hopes, their dreams of domination and power, will soon vanish. We have now not only a sectional and geographical party, based upon a sectional issue, and realizing all the fears of the illustrious Washington, but we have a party advocating doctrines agrarian and revolutionary, subjecting all property to division or confiscation, and expunging the supreme judicial tribunal. I indulge in no menaces against the Union. I make no predictions on a subject of such fearful import. But this I can say, that the South will not and ought not to submit to degradation; they will not be despoiled by the North of all rights in the common territory; they will not surrender their constitutional guarantees; they love the Union,

but it is the Union of the Constitution, the union of equals with equals, and not of sovereign States of the North, with subject States—say rather, conquered provinces of the South. Rather than submit to this, they will adopt the last alternative, *Separation*, and will then exclaim:

> "Thy spirit, INDEPENDENCE, let me share,
> Lord of the Lion heart and Eagle eye,
> Thy steps I'll follow with my bosom bare,
> Nor heed the storm that lowers along the sky."

Whether residing North or South, whether in public or in private life, my best efforts have ever been devoted to maintain the Constitution and preserve the Union. A love of our constitutional Union beats in every pulsation of my heart, and is entwined with every ligament of my frame.

Amid all the cares and enjoyments, the duties and responsibilities of life, it has ever been and is still among my chief pleasures and consolations, to contemplate the present position of my country, and unfolding the scroll of coming years and centuries, to endeavor to realize her advancing greatness and prosperity. I love to look upon her as she is, and as she is to be, if the Constitution and the Union can be maintained and perpetuated. I view her now with a commercial marine greatly more than doubled within the last ten years, reaching now nearly six millions of tons, already surpassing that of Great Britain, and at the same relative rate of progress, long before the close of this century, greatly exceeding that of all the world combined, as long since predicted in my official reports. I see our mighty expanse of territory, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes of the North to the Gulf of Mexico, occupied by nearly thirty millions of people, blessed with a far larger share of happiness, comfort, and prosperity, than Providence ever before vouchsafed to man. I see twenty-four thousand miles of railroad, already in operation, (a greater aggregate than all the rest of the world,) stretching from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, already crossing that great river at various points, from North to South, soon to pour their united tides of commerce, travel, and business into the one great trunk line to the Pacific. I see the gold of California and Australia, and a vast portion of the commerce of Asia, passing through this channel to the Atlantic, meeting here the travel and traffic of Europe, and conducting them together with our own, by this nearest, cheapest, safest, and quickest route to the Pacific.

I see the command of universal commerce passing from Europe to America, and feel that ultimately the nation that commands the commerce of the world, must command the institutions of the world, and introduce them finally into general adoption, not by the sword or conquest, but by the moral force of our successful example, striking down the thrones of despots,

and erecting upon their ruins the glorious fabric of the people's will. I see, too, what, in this probable crisis of my country's destiny, it is my duty again to repeat from my Texas letter, that, when Congress and the North shall have wholly ceased to interfere with the question of slavery, the African race, gradually disappearing from our borders, passing in part out of our limits to Mexico and Central and Spanish America, and in part returning to the shores of their ancestors, there, it is hoped, to carry Christianity, civilization and freedom, throughout the benighted regions of the Sons of Ham. Indeed, it is a most remarkable fact, that while in their native Africa, the race has made no progress, while in the mock Republic of Hayti or brutal despotism of Soulouque, in Jamaica and the British West Indies, the emancipated slaves have retrograded to barbarism, while even in our own North, the free black race is generally found in the jails, or poor-houses, or hospitals, the asylums of the deaf and dumb, the blind or insane, or in pestilent alleys or cellars, amid scenes of destitution and infamy; yet in Africa alone, a colony of emancipated slaves, born and raised in the much abused South, and trained and manumitted by Southern masters, we find the only hope of the African race, and the only success they have ever achieved out of bondage.

When any one ventures to admonish the people of the danger of sectional or geographical parties, he is now denounced as a traitor or disunionist. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Franklin, Hamilton, Jackson, Clay and Webster, all warned the people of the danger to the Union of sectional and geographical parties. But we, who repeat these warnings, are the true friends of the Union; and those who disregard these admonitions, and form sectional and geographical parties, are the enemies of the Constitution and the Union.

Popular revolutions are always sudden. The dark cloud is seen in the horizon; we hear the muttering thunder, nearer and nearer, louder, still louder, it rolls above us—then comes the lightning flash, the crash of the Union, and all is over. We will all then stand amid the ruins of the irrevocable past. We will stand at the dread judgment seat of our country and of the world, the books will be opened, and despots pronounce our sentence, the doom of our race as they believe, self-government is a bloody and delusive phantom. No, better had we swing the earth from its orbit, and scatter it in burning fragments through universal space, than meet the curses of our country and mankind, and the horrors of that living death, which would follow the dissolution of the American Union. If the surrender of my poor life, the remnant of my waning days, could save my country, gladly, most gladly, would I make the sacrifice—the sacrifice! oh no, the duty, the glory of such an achievement. If my voice could reach

even the Black "Republican" party, I would say, re-assemble your convention, re-nominate your candidates if you please, elect them if you can, take all the spoils, but tear down your disunion African platform, ere you indorse it at the polls, and give the country some other platform, which will not imperil the Union.

No man values more than myself the countless blessings and benefits of the Union. But just in proportion as are its great advantages, will be the unspeakable disasters which would follow from its overthrow. I have never believed in a peaceable dissolution of the Union. If the disaster comes, it will be attended by civil war, and the sword must be the umpire. How can it be peaceful? Who is to arbitrate between the North and the South? Who is to have the army, the navy, the national banner, the public treasure or revenue, the Capitol of the Union, the Government archives, and how are we to divide the public lands and common territory! What compact or treaty of peace between the contending parties can take the place of the Constitution, and how or by whom are the new governments to be formed and pacified. No, my countrymen, if in the madness of sectional passions and geographical prejudice, you overthrow the Constitution framed by Washington and the sages of the Revolution, you can never provide adequate substitutes. Those who have achieved our country's ruin, can never regather the scattered fragments of the Constitution, and rebuild the sacred edifice. No, it will be war, civil war, of all others the most sanguinary and ferocious. The line which separates the North from the South, will be known in all history as the line of blood. It will be marked on either side, by frowning fortresses, by opposing batteries, by gleaming sabres, by bristling bayonets, by the tramp of contending armies, by towns and cities sacked and pillaged, by dwellings given to the flames, and fields laid waste and desolate. No mortal hand can lift the veil which conceals the unspeakable disasters of such a conflict. No prophet vision can penetrate the dark abyss of such a catastrophe. It will be a second fall of mankind, and while we shall be performing here the bloody drama of a nation's suicide, from the thrones of Europe, will arise the exulting shouts of despots, and upon their gloomy banners shall be inscribed, as they believe never to be effaced, their motto,

"Man is incapable of self-government."

Nor let it be supposed by the North, that superior numbers will give them the victory over the South, or exempt them from the calamities of such a conflict. The financial and industrial ruin of the North would be great and overwhelming. The annual products of the South have now reached at least thirteen hundred millions of dollars, and a much larger

portion of this is surplus for export, than in the North. Thus the total exports abroad of the whole country, of our own products and manufactures, (excluding specie,) for the year ending 30th June, 1855, were $192,751,000, of which there were from the North, $67,626,000, and from the South $125,124,000, cotton alone being $88,143,000, thus showing the export of the South, nearly double that of the North. But in the table of these Northern exports, is $5,857,000 of cotton piece goods. Now these were made out of 40,000 bales of Southern cotton, costing (at $50 a bale) $2,000,000, furnished by the South to the North, to be deducted from the Northern, and added to the Southern export, making a difference in this article alone in favor of the South of $4,000,000.

In the same manner, in the table of Northern exports, are found spirits of molasses, $1,448,000, manufactured tobacco, $1,486,000, spirits of turpentine, $1,137,000, and a vast number of other articles, of which the raw materials are chiefly from the South, amounting (including cotton,) to at least $10,000,000, to be deducted from the Northern, and added to the Southern export, making the former $57,626,000 and the latter $135,124,000, or vastly more than double. Thus it is, that the South urnish vastly more than double those exports, which constitute the basis of our exchange and commerce, which build up our commercial marine, (the cradle of our navy), and employ our shipping, more than doubling our tonnage, and enabling us ultimately to command the commerce of the world.

So also as to the articles not exported abroad. Those of the South being almost exclusively raw products, and those of the North, to a great extent, manufactures, the raw materials furnished by the South to the North, must be deducted from the Northern product, and added to that of the South.

The population of the free States at the last census was 13,434,922, and that of the South, 9,664,656. The annual products of the South now reach at least $1,300,000,000, which furnish the means of employment to more than three millions of the people of the North. This arises in various ways. In supplying so vast a portion of the freight and passengers, for transportation abroad and coastwise, on the ocean, lakes, bays and rivers, railroads and canals, and which bring back the return cargoes, the timber must be cut, the iron and other materials furnished, the vehicles of commerce built, the railroads and engines constructed, the crews and hands employed, the shipments and re-shipments made, the stores occupied, the merchandise sold, furnishing profit, employment and wages to thousands at the North. Then, too, the farmers, workmen and other parties of the North and Northwest, in supplying manufactures and provisions to the

South, increase the number to millions. Indeed, it would be impossible to enumerate all the multiplied ramifications of the business of the North, connected with the South, that give employment to Northern capital and Northern labor.

Now, by a dissolution of the Union and civil war, there would be total non-intercourse between the North and the South, an absolute prohibition of all imports or exports, which would necessarily throw the trade of the South into other channels. This, we have seen, would throw out of employment more than three millions of the people of the North, including the families connected with them, most of whom would be reduced to absolute indigence. It would not be the case with them of low profits, low compensation or salaries, or low wages, but of *none*, because the business that gave them employment would have ceased. As these millions, thus reduced to want, would be unable as heretofore to make their former purchases, many thousands more in the North would, to a vast extent, lose their business and employment, and thus extend the disaster, so as to affect most injuriously the whole people of the North.

The Northern railroads, vessels and steamers would lose their freight and passengers, passing to and from the South; the Northern stores, connected with this trade, would be closed, the Northern vessels lie idle at the wharves, the Northern manufactures no longer reach the markets of the South, nor the cotton be furnished in return; the shipyards and engine-works thus employed would be discontinued; the Northern farms would cease to supply breadstuffs and provisions to the South—these they would raise themselves at home, in lieu of that portion of their cotton heretofore supplied to the Northern market. Their own exports would be shipped abroad in their own, or foreign vessels, from their own ports, and to the same points, in the same manner, would be brought back the return cargoes. Indeed, such a cessation of business, of intercourse, of wages and employment, produced by civil war between the North and the South, would cause here a perfect paralysis.

Commerce would perish; credit would decay; all property, real and personal, would rapidly depreciate in value; good debts, to banks and others, would become worthless; wages or salaries would cease or decline; stocks would sink to a nominal value; confidence would vanish; all available means would take the form of specie, which would be hoarded, and seek its usual hiding-places, as in all times of convulsion. To crown the disaster, more than three millions of people at the North, receiving no wages or employment, must live. They must have houses, food and raiment. But how to be obtained? Would it be by the new agrarian doctrine of submitting rights of property to the decision of the ballot-box?

Would it be by division and confiscation? Would the anti-rent doctrine become universal? Or is this too tedious a process? Would riots prevail? Would plunder and pillage close the disaster? But crimes, tumults, taxes, misery, deaths, government, state, city and county debts, at enormous rates of interest, and emigration of persons and capital to other countries, would all increase, while liberty itself would expire in the conflict; and the bayonet, as in Europe, take the place of the ballot-box. The jails and poor-houses would be multiplied; sieges and battles prevail, and thousands perish in fraternal strife. The taxes, to support those who could not support themselves, and to maintain large and costly armies in the field, would be incalculable.

Look at Europe. Her armies now numbering nearly four millions of men, (greater than our whole voting population,) trample down the rights and interests of the people and consume their substance, while European government debts have nearly reached ten thousand millions of dollars. But at least, they have suppressed the guillotine, and possess what they call *Law and Order.* But would we have even these, until military usurpation had closed the drama of blood and violence, and written the last sad epitaph of human liberty. The picture is darkly shadowed, but it is by the pencil of truth, and the gloomy reality would be darker still My soul shrinks from the contemplation of scenes like these, and my pen would refuse to perform its office in describing them, if a solemn sense of duty did not compel me to give these warnings, ere *it is too late*, and exert all my feeble efforts to prevent the ruin of my country. Now, these efforts may possibly accomplish something; after the election, my humble voice would be unheard or unheeded, in the tempest of passion that would sweep the country.

Let those of the North who tell you there is no danger, shrink from the fearful responsibility they have assumed, ere the evil day shall come upon us. They tell us there is no danger, that they have heard this cry before—of danger to the Union—but there is no peril. None in 1820, none in 1833, none in 1850, and the warnings of Washington were a delusion. Why, then, did they call Henry Clay the great pacificator, and announce that thrice he had saved his country? How saved he the Union, if it never was in danger? But it was imperilled, and it was saved by measures adopted by the votes of the North and the South. But now, the Union between the North and the South, so far as the votes for the sectional candidates of the so-called "Republican" party is concerned, *is already dissolved;* for no man anticipates a solitary electoral vote for those candidates in any State of the South, but this controversy is to be settled exclusively in favor of, and by the exclusive vote of the North; and the rights, wishes and interests of the South are to be wholly disregarded.

Beware, my countrymen, ere it is too late, how you adopt these perilous counsels. Give no vote that puts the Union in the slightest peril. Make no such fearful experiment. Friends of the Union, of all parties, our enemies have combined; they have fused, and under their united efforts, the pillars of the Constitution and of the Union are rocking to their base, and we may have assembled in November next, for the last time, under our country's flag, and as citizens of a common Union. The enemies of the Union have united, and why should we be separated? The flag of the North "American" party, as they call themselves, is trailing in the dust, and is replaced by the Black "Republican" standard. Your leaders have surrendered the American flag, and taken in exchange the African banner. They have capitulated at discretion; they have surrendered your candidates and principles, and demand your votes for the candidates and platform of the Black "Republican" party. Friends of the Union, come and unite with us to save the Union! Come, without any surrender of principle on your part or ours, to the rescue of our country. In my inmost soul I believe, that James Buchanan is the only man on whom, in sufficient force, the friends of the Union can unite to save the country.

Come Democrats, come Whigs, come friends of the Union of every party, come to the rescue of that Union which James Buchanan loves so well, and to preserve which, the patriot statesman of Pennsylvania has given a long life of devoted service. Come, my brother, give me your hand; let us save the country first, and then settle, at some future election, the administrative measures about which we now differ. Come in the name of our common country, now in the agony of an approaching convulsion! Come in the name of the Constitution and of the Union, now subjected to imminent peril! Come in memory of the commingled blood of the North and the South, poured out on the battle fields of the Revolution! Come in the name of the liberties of the world, which would be crushed by the fall of the American Union! Come with the farewell warnings of Washington on your lips, and imprinted on your hearts—not in sectional array of the North against the South—but in the glorious panoply of our whole country, from North to South, from East to West! let the thirty-one columns wheel into line, and with the same inspiring battle-cry, pealing from rank to rank, re-echoing from State to State, THE UNION TO THE RESCUE! let us together march to the polls, as our fathers did, in the hour of peril, to the music and flag of the Union.

Respectfully, your fellow-citizen,

R. J. WALKER.

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